

WHAT IS TRUE AMERICANISM?

It Has as Many Definitions as There
Are Men to Define It—Like Love,
It Is What Man Makes It,
Be He Priest or
Politician.

I HAVE the profoundest faith in the fundamental qualities of our people; first, their good will toward one another and toward all the world; second, their ability in the long run to think straight, and, third, their inherent love of fair play. The core of the people is sound, because the best American traditions are thoroughly inbred in them. We have, of course, our own defects, but they are not greater defects than those of other nations. The faults of autocracy are much more dangerous to the world than ours, the chief of which I have elsewhere enumerated as:

"Sloth and Greed and Waste—
The satelless gorgons of democracy."

These faults make us pay dearly for the blessings attendant upon our system, and they will continue to do so until the conscience and the imagination of our people are more thoroughly aroused and become more of an everyday affair.

Speaking as a man of letters, it seems to me that I would better place imagination before conscience, as it is the imagination which stirs the conscience. Place before our people two courses of action, clearly made out, and they will invariably choose the better. And yet how difficult it is for us to imagine the better course! I cannot but think that the culture of the imagination is one of the most important duties of the time, since it is only imagination that can co-ordinate the affairs of to-day with the affairs of the past and thus awaken in us a desire for ideal action.

I have said that our chief faults make us pay dearly for our chief blessings under a democratic form of government. This is not necessarily true of democracy, as we are accustomed to call the republican or representative form of government. France, for instance, is so indoctrinated with respect for ideas that it maintains an atmosphere of vitality and alertness, whatever may be the vagaries of its politics.

What is it that makes it necessary for us to be continually keeping up the national interest in political matters? What is it that made it possible that in the election of the last week there should have been an abstention of perhaps 100,000 votes, not due merely to the accidents of absence during registration time?

Whatever one may think of this, the time is certainly opportune for a revival of Americanism of the truest type. By this I mean an Americanism that will make every man more sensitive to his individual responsibilities, more willing to speak out against abuses and in praise of courageous public servants. An Americanism also that will make us proud of the things of which we ought to be proud—the sacrifices of those, whether soldiers or civilians, who have given themselves to the salvation or the progress of the country. I like to think, for instance, of the fine things that we have lately done in diplomacy—of John Hay's stand for the open door in China; of the return of the Boxer indemnity; of the faith we kept with Cuba in withdrawing in accordance with our promise, though even our friends in Europe doubted both our intention and our policy; and, lastly, our reassertion of the public faith in the repeal of the Panama tolls exemption.

The recently formed organization to be known as the American Society, a federation of national unity, will, I am sure, aim as much to lay stress on the achievements and the virtues of our people as upon any of our weak points that need to be strengthened. In standing for American ideals it will define these ideals and call to its support all the many other societies with patriotic traditions that are doing so much to conserve the best thought and purpose of the people.

One very hopeful circumstance is the quick perception of Americans of the real issue involved in the European conflict. Quite aside from any trade ambition or competition, the contest narrows itself down to the difference between democracy and autocracy. Our system is based upon a belief that the people are the source of power—that whatever functions their officials may have are delegated and fiduciary. The government exists for the people and not the people for the government. The principle of autocracy is, on the contrary, that the state is the source of power, which it graciously doles out to the people, who exist to magnify and multiply its functions. So long as Americans react sensitively on great questions such as this there need be no doubt as to their fundamental soundness. What we need is that the reaction should be as quick in our own emergencies, great and small, so that patriotism may become a living principle.

Robert Underwood Johnson.

THERE follow other statements on the subject discussed by Mr. Johnson given out by a number of prominent persons, each one of whom, as will be apparent, has definite remarks to make on the subject. There are conflicting opinions, in certain instances, but the fact that Americanism is considered an important contemporary issue can hardly be denied:

Stuart G. Gibbons said:

"Americanism as I interpret it means liberty in its truest sense, not unlicensed liberty of speech and action, but equal opportunity and personal freedom, so long as we do not encroach on the rights of our fellow man. It imposes on the true American also the duty of loyalty to our splendid history and institutions and the placing of our national aims and aspirations above all other considerations."

William Peter Hamilton, editor in chief of the New York "Wall Street Journal," said:

"Americanism has the defects and qualities of democracy. It is always too articulate. We talk too much, and we give an implication of shallowness, which is to some extent deserved. However, there is a better Americanism, and that is to be found among the people who don't talk. These constitute, fortunately, an overwhelming majority, and it is to them that we must look for real Americanism—which is as sound as ever."

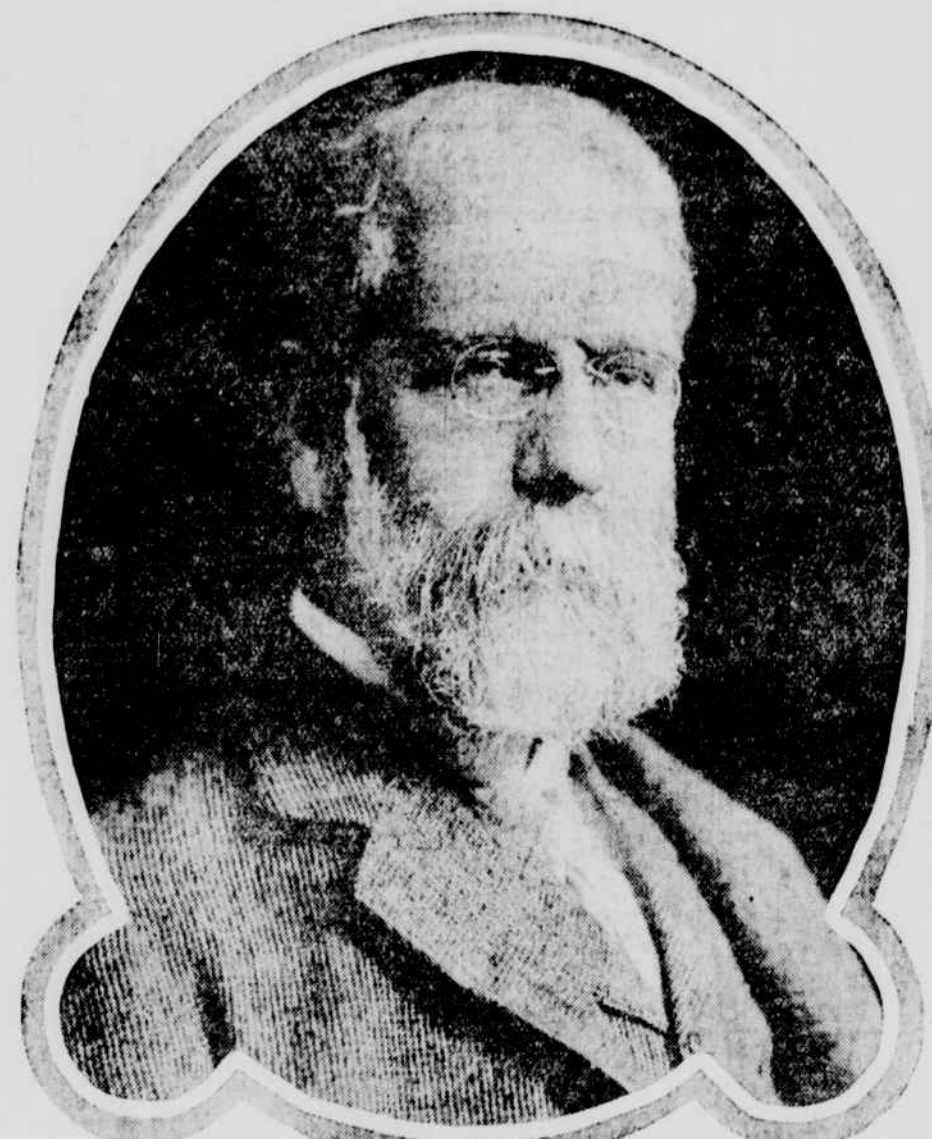
George Haven Putnam said:

"You ask me for some expression of opinion as to what ought to be covered by the term 'Americanism,' and, if I understand the suggestion rightly, as to the duty of our citizens in securing and maintaining such standard of American citizenship as shall insure not only the safety of the state but the continued and increasing influence of the ideals for which our republic has stood."

"The term 'Americanism' has, I need hardly point out, been used to cover a number of meanings. Half a century or more back what was called the American party—the party which said that it had for its purpose the development of true Americanism—proposed to accomplish this by restricting political privileges to men who had been born in this country. The experience, however, of the United States has shown that the mere detail—that one might call the accident of birth—constitutes but a small factor in the foundations that go to make up citizenship."

"My friend Carl Schurz said once on the platform: 'You' (the men who were listening to him) 'are Americans by accident, but I am an American by choice, a choice made when I was of mature years and was competent to understand what the American Republic stood for.'"

"I judge that we do understand to-day that the truest Americanism and the highest type of American citizenship depend not upon the accident of birth, but upon the nature of the ideals and standards of the man. A man may



Robert Underwood Johnson.

be born in this country and may show himself as he grows up utterly incapable of understanding what the ideals of the republic stand for. A man may come to us, as did Carl Schurz, representing another race and a very different set of home conditions, and may be able so to absorb the theories upon which our republic has been founded as to show himself capable of political leadership of the highest order. Americans are those who believe in the ideals of the republic and are prepared to maintain and, if necessary, to fight for those ideals. We have no use for any others."

The Rev. John Haynes Holmes:

"In these two great ideals of brotherhood and democracy is the essence of American life. This is what America means to-day, as Greece yesterday meant beauty and Rome law. There is a national idealism which is more potent than all the capitalistic greed, all the ruthlessness which is encountered in the everyday lives of men. Because of this lofty, inherent idealism, America is really the hope of the world."

Chauncey M. Depew said:

"Americanism constitutes Americanism. The sentiment is perhaps most happily expressed by borrowing the famous 'Deutschland über alles,' and turning it to our own uses, as, 'America before all.'"

"After the successful issue of the Civil War it was no North, no South, no East, no West, but just 'My Country.' There is no such thing

as a double allegiance. You cannot serve two masters, is the biblical injunction. Americanism seeks, in the American language, what makes for the best interests of the United States under all conditions. This does not prevent, in fact it encourages an active sympathy for the downtrodden, for the oppressed, for those who are suffering because of their faith or their patriotism. There is no allegiance which has a mental reservation. It is either absolute or adulterated. If adulterated, then it is hostile."

The Rev. William T. Manning, rector of Trinity Church, said:

"The true American is one who, however tender and sacred his ties may be with another land, gives his undivided allegiance to the United States and to the ideals of truth, justice and human liberty for which this country stands."

Henry Clews said:

"Americanism, whether referring to a native born or a naturalized citizen, is that quality in a man which compels him to put the good of this country above all other considerations."

"In our Civil War and in the war with Spain the soldier who was born abroad fought just as loyally as the one who was native born; and I believe that to-day, notwithstanding the antipathy shown in many quarters toward the so-called hyphenated American, if this country were to need their services for defence they would be found in the front rank of volunteers."

"In any public place of amusement the dis-

Well Known Thinkers Put Individual
Ideals and Desires Into Their
Conception of a National
Trait: Religion, Democracy,
Liberty.

play of our flag on the stage or on the screen is greeted with more applause nowadays than at any time within fifty years, and the loudest applause comes from those whom Lincoln lovingly designated as the 'plain people.' I fully believe that the foreign war has aroused a spirit of patriotism in the whole United States which will result in lasting good and insure ample provision for defence if we should be unfortunate enough to be drawn into trouble with any outside power."

Samuel Gompers said:

"The spirit of Americanism was born of a struggle for rights and opportunity. The colonists came to these shores seeking freedom from oppression, political, mental and physical. The spirit of resistance to tyranny and insistence upon rights grew vigorous and deep rooted, taking strength from wide skies and the broad plains and the wide distances. It arose in the dignity of fearless indignation against the efforts to deny them the rights they believed ought to belong to free born men. That is the spirit that gave birth to Americanism."

"Americanism represents an ideal—a free people demanding, maintaining and utilizing opportunities for initiative, resourceful activity and withal making progress."

"In essence the spirit of Americanism is voluntary, creative, idealistic. It values the old, and its usefulness is demonstrated and readily considers and adopts the new if there be anything to be gained. It is surely founded upon concepts of justice and equality of opportunity."

"There is no organization in the country more truly representative of the democratic free ideals of Americanism than the trade union movement, which is based upon fundamental concepts of liberty and equal opportunity, and seeks to bring into the lives of the masses of the people the advantages and opportunities that must be theirs if they are to continue to grow and develop."

Dr. Joseph Silverman, of Temple Emanu-El, said:

"The desire for efficient protection has created the demand that Americanism hereafter be used without modification. The true definition of an American citizen is an American who is absolutely loyal to the American Constitution and to the American flag. The German-American, the English-American or any other hyphenated American, to whom the adjective connotes anything of a foreign national spirit, is no true American in the new acceptance of that term."

Oswald Garrison Villard, president of "The New York Evening Post," said:

"I do not share the views professed by many detractors as to the United States. All my experience and observations as a newspaper man convince me that no thought of profit would prevent this country from doing its ut-

termost to stop the present war, though I know such statements have been made. If the end of the struggle depended on the American people not another shot would be fired."

"I am very tired of this old charge that we are a basely commercialized people. On the contrary, I think that we are, at bottom, the most idealistic of nations. The response of the people to President Wilson's high idealism in his handling of our troubles with Germany is the completest proof of that. There are certain sections and groups deeply affected by trade and by business is, of course, true. But so are there tendencies and groups among the Germans, the English and the French. How else would Germany and England have made such successes as traders?"

William Jay Schieffelin said:

"The present war has shown that each European nation has a strongly developed sense of nationalism. If war came to America the same patriotic unity would be displayed. But the duty of the hour is to develop the national spirit, in order to avoid war by adequately preparing for defence, and to keep the nation true to its highest destiny."

"At present there is too much sectionalism. The journals and the citizens in a certain part of one state are often loath to speak even of the achievements of those inhabiting other parts. This absurd jealousy should be rooted out and high ideals for the whole nation should constantly be upheld."

The Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, of Madison Square Presbyterian Church, said:

"American character is a very mixed commodity because it is so heterogeneous. Americanism, however, is a sentiment that has no hyphens."

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, said:

"What is Americanism? To me true Americanism consists in the belief in and loyalty to the fundamental principles which were first set forth in 1776, when our forefathers signed the Declaration of Independence. In this document they declared certain truths to be self-evident. First—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. It was the acceptance of these 'self-evident' truths which bound the people of the thirteen original colonies together as a new nation."

Meyer London:

"Religious tolerance, highly developed democratic institutions, freedom from the national hatreds of the Old World, contempt for aristocracy of birth, opposition to every form of militarism, an opportunity to the healthy, to the strong and to the enterprising of all nations and of all races to help build a free people—these are the things that America has contributed to civilization."

"To me Americanism means the opportunity to do better than the rest of the world."

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, said:

"Real Americanism is a thing deep and vital. It embodies an ideal which lies far beneath mere surface and show. There is a wonderful idealism inherent in the American nation. What often appears to be an overwhelming absorption in commercialism, with its attendant greed and selfishness, is, I think, a superficial manifestation. Back of this the true American character stands stalwart and unmeshed. I do not think the American nation is the greatest nation on earth. I think to-day the French nation is the greatest. France has displayed the most exalted patriotism, courage and willingness to sacrifice from the beginning of this great war. Whether America, under those circumstances, could rise to the occasion no one could say. However, faith in the American people, as a people, a unit which is becoming more and more distinct, is very great."

The Rev. David H. Greer, D. D., pastor of the Diocese of New York, said:

"America to-day stands for high ideals. Its patriotic mission is to be true to those ideals and to maintain them. Flowing through all our heterogeneous and racial mixtures and giving color and complexion to them all is this current of a high human ideal."

Edward Alden Jewell.

Are Women People?

By ALICE DUER MILLER

"While all seems dead, the age itself is not. It liveth as surely as our maker liveth. Under all this seeming want of life and motion the world does more nevertheless. Be hopeful, and now let us adjourn and appeal to the people."

Abraham Lincoln.

After Election Day.

Not easy, oh, not easy to forgive
The scorn, the lie, the ridicule, the spite,
Not easy even for us, who breathe and live,
Resolved to win, however long the fight.
But harder when we contemplate the dead,
Who bore the heat and burden of the day—
Cruel defeats the bravest spirits dread—
And ere their hour of triumph went their way.
They sowed the harvest we shall some day reap.
They ringed the fortresses that we shall take;
Shall we forget their hurts because they sleep?
Ah, may we not be bitter for their sake?

Not so: revenge and hatred they forego;
And we will let them lead us as before.

A Warning.

We do most earnestly urge the men who voted against
suffrage to safeguard their lives in every possible way.
No, this is not a threat.
It is a warning based on experience.
In the suffrage states many men voted against suffrage.
They have all melted away.

Hardly one of them can be discovered to-day.
Within a few years they will have melted away in this state.

Gentlemen, do be careful of yourselves!

More Than Kind.

We know several men who, not having voted for years,
rushed to the polls last Tuesday in order to protect women
from the intolerable burden of the ballot.

Unless, of Course, Women Aren't.

"The people of New York," observes one of the news-
papers, "have decided against woman suffrage."

It would be more accurate to say that a little more than
half of half the people have decided that all the other half of
the people are not people.

Antis We Have Known.

An anti, fair and apparently tender,
Sat with her feet on her own brass fender;
Safe as a human life can be
From want and suffering, so safe was she,
Safe by money and social position,
By love and learning and sound tradition;
Never a stroke of work had she done,
Never a dollar earned or won,
Her children in school, and her husband gone
To his office, she sat by her fire alone

With time to read the election news,
And found it exactly met her views.
She was glad the women had been defeated,
That was the way they ought to be treated,
Glad that women who toiled all day
Were not to be equals in any way,
Glad that women she passed in the street
Couldn't in any way compete,
Glad, since wisdom and wealth and power
Guarded her children every hour,
To know that tenement mothers and wives
Couldn't help guard their children's lives,
Glad since everything suited her
That other women should stay as they were.
Which shows that being secure, apart,
Petted and sheltered by every art
Doesn't develop the human heart.

A New Argument Against.

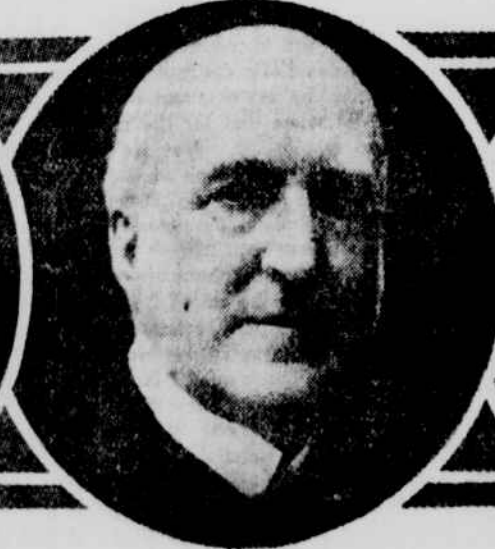
In future only those who believe that too much courtesy
is bad for women can object to their presence at the polls.
The New York watchers all agree that the home seems a
rough, workaday sort of a place in contrast.

Another Temporary Relief.

On a somewhat similar occasion, Lincoln said that he felt
like the little boy who stubbed his toe: "It felt too bad to
laugh, and he was too big to cry."



Samuel Gompers.



Chauncey M. Depew.



Rev. Wm. T. Manning.



Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.



William Jay Schieffelin.



Henry Clews.